

SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

THE
FOUNDATION
OF
GOVERNMENT
AND
RIGHT
OF
SOVEREIGNS
FAIRLY EXAMIN'D,

With the Publick Obligations of Gratitude
so highly due to the PRUDENCE,
JUSTICE, and HONOUR of our pre-
sent LEGISLATORS.

SET FORTH

In a Letter from a *Layman* to his Brother a *Clergyman*.



L O N D O N : Printed and Sold, by T. Bickerton,
at the Crown in Pater-noster-row. 1720

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT



PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT



TO THE
BRITISH
PATRIOTS.



N presuming to lay before You a Paper on this Subject, where could I more properly Address it, as being Written in a Cause so nearly Your Own.

In our melancholy View of the Violent Prosecution of that Party-Rage, which has so long broken out amongst Us; not so much to see Our Divisions so wide and irreconcilable, as the Grounds of them so weak and so unreasonable; how can we bear the Enemies of the Government in arraigning the

To the British Patriots.

very SOVERAIGNTY, as standing on an unrighteous Establishment; when truly Examining, neither in our Own or other Christian Kingdoms, into the Foundations of Sovereign Power, and thereby into the Legality of such an Establishment; they dare so arrogantly and so peremptorily, by their own Single Decision, fix the Title and Right of CROWNS.

'Tis with the same hardened Confidence they desire the World to believe, that there's a restless Party now amongst us, all animated by a Republican Spirit, and now confederating not only to overturn the Church but the Monarchy too: And all this we must take upon Trust, from their own bare Assertion; without the least Sign or Token, through the whole Deportment of the Party so accused, enough to give us even the Shadow of any such Inclination.

Nay, Worthy Gentlemen, You Your Selves escape not the Virulence of the same rancorous Detraction; whilst our Pilots at the Helm, having Established an entire Ease and Freedom to all Protestant Subjects, endeavouring therein, as far as Humane Councils can provide, to cultivate an Universal Amity, as a National Blessing, to be transmitted down even to latest Posterity: Nevertheless from their General Grace and Favour, in the Pacifick Measures taken on this Occasion, extended amongst the Rest to this very Party, so branded and so sygnaliz'd; upon that very Concession they
are

To the British Patriots.

are charg'd with no less than being dipt in their Conspiracy, and consequently in their own heartiest Labour for supporting the Constitution, they are Presented as clandestinely designing and working the Subversion of it. For what though these angry Clamourers may not be hardy enough to speak plainly on so bold a Subject, their Insinuations and Suggestions that Way are manifestly apparent to every common Penetration.

Hence 'tis the Enemies of the Administration carry on their Paper War with all that unfair Hostility, when as the Wild Indians Battle, their Arguments, like the others Weapons, are Poyson'd.

Thus by bringing the Government even into a Plot against it self, how easy is it for Wit and Malice (so monstrous a Gorgon once rais'd) to rake into the whole Filth of a Past Age (whatever Faults may have been then committed) for a plentiful stock of Dirt and Scandal to bespatter even the brightest VIRTUE of the Present One.

'Tis against these Boutefeus the following Discourse is level'd. But here should any over-nice Censurers unhappily tax the Authour of it with the Want of a due Respect to Persons of their Figure and Authority, such as the Learned Gentlemen of the Gown, in his choosing to Address his Complaints against the Publick Grievances to that select Class of Mankind; 'tis sufficient that his voice in that Case carries this Justification with it, viz. Where
the

To the British Patriots.

*the Character is or ought to be, the Fairest, the
Blotts in it are the more notorious. And therefore
in the just Correction of too shameful Faults, at least
where the Chastisement is made by no other Lash
then that of Reason and Argument, the severer the
Stroke, 'tis so much the Honester. For alas, we
cannot (even in meer Charity) hold the Mirrour
too close, at least to the Front of Willful and Ob-
stinate Errour, especially where the Deformities
it Presents may not be wholly incurable,*



T H E



T H E
F O U N D A T I O N
O F
G O V E R N M E N T.

B R O T H E R,

T
A
S

 'Tis my unhappiness to have a Relation so near me, no less then a Man of Letters, advanced to an Ecclesiastick Preferment, invested with a considerable Pastoral Authority in the establish'd Church of *England*, and yet so vow'd an Enemy to the Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line of Succession, (as indeed our Church has too many such Sons) that in all Conversation, at least where You dare be so bold, (and truly to animate Your boldness, You take care to herd with Your Kind) You are ever weak enough, or rather vain enough, to open Your Heart and be very Elegant on that particular Subject. — As a Brother, and an elder one, I have been often admitted to Your select Society, tho' known to be of a different Kidney from the

B

rest

rest of Your Companions ; nevertheless conceiving no Fears from a Brother, and one professing something of Honour, with an equal hardiness You have been very profuse of Your Tongue on so beloved an Argument. 'Tis true in respect to Conversation, and likewise not affecting to be particular, I have therefore been ever backwards in entering into Disputes with You. However as I can hold out Silence no longer, I have thought fit this way to communicate my Thoughts to You, in which I shall claim some Privilege and Authority, though from nothing more than my Superiority of Years, to argue Matters fairly, lay open Truth plainly, and rebuke Faults heartily.

Your Tenderness and Concern for the Wrongs of Princes, in no less a Charge against Us than the disinheriting the *Rightful Heir* of a *Crown* (for that's Your Plea) carries a plausible Face, and goes a great way towards the misleading both Yourselfes, and the less thinking Populace, into a very unhappy Delusion. The Foundation therefore that You build Your Cause upon shall be our Business to search, whether it be of Rock or Sand.

To enter into which Inquiry it lies before Us to examine into the fundamental Titles and original Claim of Princes. And here I'll begin with that celebrated and never disputed Right derived from *Conquest*.

Conquest, tho' so justified and defended on all Hands, to give it its true Definition, what is it but *prevailing Power*, and generally founded on downright Rapine, *viz.* in one Prince or Potentate's attacking another, and forcibly wresting his Kingdoms

doms or Dominions from him. And what's more amazing in the glorious Character given this bold Atcheiver : Whether he makes his Attaque with the least previous Pretension of *Justice*, or Provocation for the Foundation of his Quarrel, (as Heaven knows many a weak one has been started on such an Occasion) or gives no other Plea but *Ambition*; it matters not. Ay and tho' he pushes on with all the Barbarities and Ravages of War, even to the setting our Cities, like so many *Worms*, *Spires* and *Franckendals* a blazing, or whatever can be imagin'd yet more dreadful; 'tis all the same still. *Conquest*, whatever dark Steps it may make in its Progress, yet leaves no Blot in its Scotcheon when accomplish'd. No, all Acquisitions of that kind meet equally an universal Recognition, and stand alike legitimatized by the same publick and general Acknowledgment. Nay, and tho' attended with the utter Subversion of the Government in whatever new Model of Sovereignty the Conqueror's uncontroll'd Will and Pleasure shall think fit to establish; still the whole *Vox Populi* would give it on his Side against us, avowing that all this he might do by the Right of Conquest, and still challenge our entire Submission and Obedience to him, tho' no longer Subjects but Slaves.

If *Conquest* therefore, though purchas'd at any Price, and its Authority tho' stretch'd to the most rigorous Tyranny, yet bears so establish'd a Reputation, and stands so upright in the Eye of the World: Pray, let me ask You----If weigh'd in the same Scales of Equity, and by a fair Parity of right Reason; how comes it that the *Revolution* that attend-

attended the Prince of *Orange*, should be so blacken'd and branded, as You and Your Murmurers have represented it?

Was it so Criminal, because it was less Sanguinary than the bloodier Revolutions made by Conquest? Was the Peoples more voluntary Submission to Wicked; and is a compulsive one so Righteous? Or did it so heinously offend You because it supported not destroy'd our Constitution; secured both to us and our Posterity, all that ought to be nearest and dearest to us? 'Tis true, it had so far the Effects of *Conquest* that it ended in the removal of one Sovereign, and setting up another, Ay, Brother, *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!* Hence the full outcry of Your whole Party. You lost Your King *James*. Nay, and to heighten the pretended Barbarity against that unfortunate Prince, and thereby render the National Deliverance more odious; what monstrous Suggestions did You make of the Reasons that induced Him to retire into *France*, viz. That had He stay'd in *England* His very personal Safety might have been threaten'd, possibly to the sharing no less than His Father's Fate, or something equivalent to it. And therefore 'twas high Time for Him to use all means to escape such impending Vengeance, &c. Good God! Can any Man in his right Wits; nay, could King *James* Himself, with all His Terrors about Him, believe His Person in any such real Danger! What! Because a pack of usurping Traytors, the then Lords of *Miseule*, in the Days of *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, supported by their mercenary Bands, and all selected Miscreants, every honest *Briton* being long excluded from their Soci-

Society, and denied even the least Hand at the Helm with them: Because these Barbarians, I say, durst shame a whole Kingdom, by so horrid a Blow as His Father's Murther; does it therefore follow, that the whole Body of the Nation (for such we account our *Parliaments*) wou'd ever conceive even the least Thought of copying from so impious and execrable an Original.-----No, Brother, Male-Administration can be inspected, amended, and punish'd too, without the least touching the Person of *Majesty*.

Look You, Brother, we here join with You, that the Persons of King's are sacred, and their Misgovernment, as to their own part in it, stands only accountable to God. But then consider, that as King's have long Hands, those Hands are none of their own. What least Act of Tyranny, or publick Oppression, tho' commanded and commissioned from the Throne, but what is perform'd by select Agents and Instruments. If an unjustifiable Command therefore from the Prince, as God's Anointed, gives us no Power of arraigning the Crownd-head; nevertheless the unjustifiable Obedience of the Subject that executes or advises those Commands lies liable to the severest Prosecution. And in this Case 'tis justly said, *That a King can do no Wrong*. No, because whatever He may *Will* amiss, His *Actings* are not properly, at least not immediately, His own.

And here to justify this Authority (especially in the *British* Constitution) even of the Popular Examination into all such *Actings*; consider Brother, that our Monarchs at their Enstalement take

a *Coronation Oath*, and by whom administred but by a *Subject* ? Now as that very Oath implies some Obligation laid upon the Prince in such and such Limitations or Boundaries of Sovereign Sway, it naturally follows, that the Power that Administers an Oath, claims an Authority both of examining and chastising the Breach of it. Otherwise an Oath is no more then an empty Ceremony. And here tho' the 'exalted Dignity of Kings may set them above any such Inquisition and Correction, their criminal Tools that work under them, are no ways exempt from the Scales and Rods of Justice.

This King *James* very well foresaw, and had He continued amongst us, what cou'd He have expected but to have had His dearest Popish Darlings, no less then the heavenly Labourers in the Re-edification of his fallen Mother Church, expos'd to the Vengeance of Devils.----For their Judges, as Hereticks, to a bigot *Romanist*, lying under a State of Damnation, may not be improperly so stiled. And consequently from a full Assurance of having His new laid Foundation not only utterly erased, but His own Power so clip'd, as never to be able to make a Second Attempt : Thus tho' without the least Dread of His own, whatever *Martyrdom* His *Cause* might expect to suffer, he chose rather to run to *France*, tho' with the hazard of dropping a *Crown*, unless favour'd by a kind Brother of His own *Kidney*, with a military Power to recover it ; rather then stand the mortification of any such Inquiry. And had King *James's* *Irish* Expedition so answer'd His own, and His dear *Lewis's* *Wishes* and *Endeavours* as to have remount-
ed

ed Him by the *Sword*, I leave You to guess (had God so deserted us;) As He set out so *Jehu-like* in his first Four short Years Reign, how rapidly (if so re-inthron'd) wou'd he have driven to the end of it.

And here fairly to argue the general Cause of *England* in the Measures then taken in our own Preservation, it will not be amiss to examine the Conduct and Practise of other Christian Nations in an equal or like Case. And here Brother, let us take our first View Northwards, by inspecting into the present turn of Affairs in *Swedeland*. Whatever natural Motives may have carried the *Swedes* to this new Establishment of their National Security; they were far short of those that led us to the Settlement of our Protestant Line of Succession.

For first here was no Danger that threatned their *Religious Establishment*. *Popery*, we all know, stands so utterly Banish'd from their Territories, that not a single Priest dares set Foot on their forbidden Ground. Their change of Government was wholly owing to the Preservation of their *Civil Rights* and *Liberties*. Their late King reign'd over them with an entire *despotick Power*, but still with no tyrannick Administration. No, quite otherwise, he had the Law on his Side, for they had parted with their Liberties no longer since than in his Father's Reign, and granted their Monarchs that *Power*. Nevertheless their unhappy Concession of such an unbounded Prerogative gave them so dreadful a Retrospection into their late mistaken Folly; that to prevent the future Danger of any such Arbitrary
Regency

Regency from any Lineal Successor that might possibly affect the Pattern set them by their late Monarch, they have new modell'd their Government by an *Elective Succession*, thereby either to mould their Sovereign Princes, or find those already moulded, to their own likeance, as being henceforward a Creation of their own, with no other true Claim of Right then that of the People's Act of Grace.

Oh, Brother, what Murther and Sacrilege has here broken out ! Yes, what slaughter Work has here been made upon Your own darling Divinity of *indefezible Right* and *unalienable Succession* : And all this Revolution from no other Plea, then *Salus Populi suprema Lex*.

And now, Brother, from this new Basis of the *Swedish* Governments far beyond the Settlement of our *Succession* ; as the *Swedes* are all *Protestants*, their Church Government *Episcopal*, and the whole Articles of their Faith very little differing from ours : If therefore the Gospel Light Shines no less in *Swedeland* than in *England* ; and consequently the same Christian Duty (one would think) should equally bind there as it does here ; but on the contrary we find their Obligations of Allegiance so utterly opposite to Yours, sure a whole concurring Nation there, or the narrower Band of our dissatisfied Murmurers here, must be one of You in a damnable Error.

Next, Brother, take a short Tour into *France*, and examine the Government there.----- Tho' their Monarchy be Hereditary, however they have one Bill of Exclusion long past amongst them, against the Female Heirs of their Crown. No Woman must

must reign over them. And why that Exception against her? Alas, a very weak one: *viz.* A Woman was thought incapable of well governing a Martial People, (as such were the *Gauls*) and therefore the Birthright of a *Daughter of France*, whenever her Priority of Blood shou'd happen, utterly foreclos'd, her Claim of Inheritance for ever set aside; and all this by a human Establishment. For their *Salique Law* was no more.

Here Brother, to compare Cases betwixt *France* and *Britain*, I dare swear for you, as much as you stand aggriev'd for want of your Darling *Chevalier* on the Throne; if you dare speak Truth, you cannot but from your Heart acknowledge, that a *Popish Successor* here in *England* is much more incapable of well governing a *Protestant Nation*; than a *Female One* cou'd be suppos'd of well governing a *Martial One* in *France*.

Now if a Neighbouring Kingdom can be allow'd to make or continue so notorious a Breach into their direct Line of Royal Succession, and all but to fence against a meer Shadow of Popular Danger from such an Administration: And the entire Acquiescence to the Force of that Law has been such: that a Remoter Male Heir has stept into the Throne upon Occasion, in Bar to the nearer Female Blood, without the least Charge of Usurpation against him: Is Sovereign Succession therefore so wholly tyed up to your *Jure Divino* only here in old *England*, whilst human Laws and Law-makers can run such Lengths in the Disposal of Scepters and Sovereignty abroad, without the least Blame

on their Side, and yet with such a hideous Charge of Impiety thrown upon ours !

Let us make one short Visit more into *Spain*, the *Eldest*, (for so she stiles her self) *Kingdom of Europe*. How stands the Scepter there ! --- Why truly not over strongly upon Hereditary Claim ; being in the present Hand accepted as a *Bequest* or *Donative* (somewhat a large Legacy !) to the now King *Philip*, by the last Will and Testament, (by whom or how that last Will was made argues nothing) of his *Childless Predecessor*. And yet from this very Title, as the *Spaniards* have receiv'd him for their King, what wants there more ! Who questions but they owe him, and will undoubtedly, as they ought, pay him their honest and bounden Duty, and Allegiance.

Nay, for Security of his controverted Right to the *Spanish* Crown, to fix his Foundation safe, and for other valuable Considerations you see he has since enter'd into a solemn Renunciation of all Claim of Birthright to the *Crown of France*, to the whole Exclusion of himself, his Heirs, and all his Posterity for ever.

Now as there lies but one Life, *viz.* That of the present *King of France*, and *Philip of Spain's Hereditary* Call to the Gallick Throne. -- If that Life thou'd fail, whatever the Ambition of *Philip* himself might aspire to, tho' with the vilest Breach of Faith ; would any honest Man arraign the Subjects of *France*, (tho' some of them bound possibly in former Oaths to their late Grand *Lewis*, and his *Right Line* of Succession) for the least Breach of Divine or Human Laws, in standing inviolably firm to the new Settlement of the Royal Heirs

Heirs of *France*, tho' to the utter Exclusion of the nearer *Spanish* Veins to the end of the World.

You see, Brother, how the indefeizable Right of Sovereigns and unalienable Duty of Subjects, is bandied and tost about till 'tis almost quite lost in other Christian Countries: even fall'n so low as to be disclaim'd and abjured; and all in meer Sacrifice to Political Interest. *But vae misera!* Woe to poor *England!* No Invasion of Sovereign Right, or Transfer of popular Duty, must be allow'd her for any Interest whatever!

After this fair Inspection into so many of our Neighbouring Monarchical Constitutions, we'll take one View of a *Democratical Government* in our nearer Neighbourhood, that of the *United Provinces* in the *Netberlands*.-- And here let us trace their Power and Dominion up to their Original. -- You very well know that they were first Subjects of *Spain*, who under the Oppression of their Tyrannical, tho' otherwise rightful Sovereign, by Revolt and Desertion from him, gain'd their Freedom; and what by their own Strength, and the Call of Foreign Hands to their Assistance, so entirely threw off their Yoke; as to raise themselves to be their own Lords and Masters in an Establish'd *Common-wealth*.

This *Common-wealth* has now held 150 Years; and which even that *Spain* they revolted from, and all Nations allow to stand upon a just Establishment, their Democratical Authority and their Subjects Obedience, acknowledg'd their Rightful Claim. And if *now*, why not *ever* their Rightful Claim! Ay, there's the question that must decide
the.

the Right of Sovereignty and Empire even thro' the World.

If a Sovereign Power or Dominion obtain'd by revolting and disobedient Subjects against a Lawful Sovereign, shall be said to be founded in *Iniquity*; when does it become *Legal*? Can the same Government be Wicked to Day, and Righteous to Morrow? As such it must be according to your Scheme of Right and Wrong: And therefore call the whole Body of your Casuists to answer this fair Question. How long and how many of these 150 Years their Government so founded, continued in that Iniquity, and when it assum'd its Legality.

No, Brother, for a fair Decision of that knotty Point, 'tis very reasonable to conclude, That as the Hand of Heav'n appear'd in relieving and rescuing them from their Oppressions, by raising them to that Pow'r that both wrought and secur'd their Deliverance? The Divine Assistance to their Cause unquestionably gave a Sanction to that Power so acquired even *Ab Initio*. And therefore we may honestly aver, That their Government commenc'd *in Justice*. Otherwise as all, or at least the greater Part of the Changes of Government, that have occur'd in all Nations, are founded in *Violence*, viz. The forcible Dispossession of one Regnant Power to make Room for another; such a Dispossession too not made but by the Concurrence of assisting Providence: If all such new Originals of Power, so often set up in every Part of the World, in one Age or another, were founded in manifest Unrighteousness (as corrupt Fountains cannot well run pure Streams) in the Divine Commands of
our

our Obedience to the Rulers set over us; it would be hard to say, that the Almighty Dispenser, no less then the *Universal Sovereign*, should institute such an Oeconomy of his own *Viceregents* thro' the World, as to enjoyn us that Obedience to a Power or Powers wholly acting by an unrightful Authority.

But as spacious a Field of Argument as the whole neighb'ring World affords us on this Subject, not to found the whole Strength of our Cause only upon *Example* and *Precedent* :—No, Brother, I shall conclude my Discourse with you on this Head, by tracing up of Sovereignty and Obedience to their y^e more Divine Original, *viz.* The Authority of Princes and the Duty of Subjects, as they stand given and enjoyn'd by God himself.

And here we must look backwards both to the Time those Divine Oracles were deliver'd, that enjoyn'd that Obedience, and to the then reigning Powers to whom that Obedience was first commanded to be paid. This Inquiry must lead us to the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour, who assumed his Humanity in the Reign of *Augustus*, the then Second; and enter'd into his Divine Commission in that of *Tiberius*, the Third *Roman* Emperor.

Here it obliges us in course, to examine what those Emperors were, and whence they deriv'd the Power and Dominion they held. That *Rome* had continued for many Hundred Years a Common-wealth, and how potent her Arms, and how large her Acquisitions, is sufficiently recorded. --- Now *Julus Caesar* being elected one of her Con-
E
suls,

suls, a Dignity tho' of that exalted Honour, yet still no more than one of the highest Posts of Service under the *Senate*; this fortunate Heroe by his numerous, and indeed unequal'd Victories, having added such large Dominions to the *Roman* Subjection, a little too highly elevated by his Successes in the publick Service, set himself up for their perpetual Dictator, by the Style of *Emperor*, thereby arrogating the Supreme Power to himself; an Ambition and Usurpation so heinously resented by them, that not all his glorious Services cou'd atone for; whilst by a Conspiracy rais'd against him, he was murder'd in their Senate-house.

Upon his Fall, instead of restoring the Republick to their Original Grandeur and Rightful Sovereignty; on the contrary in the then-divided Factions of *Rome* the most powerful Party (and Power and Will together, You know, Brother, do all Things) the Creatures of their *Emperors*, viz. their own Mercenaries the Army, not only naturally fond of their own leading Heroes, but no less pleas'd with this new Frame of Government, of which themselves had been the principal Founders: Yes, these that supported the First *Cæsar*, now wanted a Second, and so call'd his Kinsman *Octavius Cæsar* to succeed him.

Octavius so call'd, to take off the Odium which from the whole Reins of Government lodg'd in any one single Hand, a Republick Constitution might reasonably conceive against him; by a political Piece of Management, submitted to be joyn'd in Commission with *Marc Antony*, and *Lepidus*; and so to act together as a *Triumvirate*.

Here

Hère 'twas remarkable that the Ambition of the first *Cæsar*, tho' so severely punish'd, still reigning amongst them, each of them too proud to bear Partners in Empire; as *Octavius* held too high a Figure, and carried the largest Share of the Sovereign Sway, the other two Colleagues enter'd into a bloody Contest against him. Of these Two, *Lepidus* was more early and more easily crush'd. But the Hostilities between *Octavius* and *Antony* held many Years: And here we may observe, that that very *Antony* that publickly declaim'd to the People of *Rome*, over the Body of the first murder'd *Cæsar*, so magnifying his Virtues, and all his publick Services, cou'd nevertheless rise in Arms against a second *Cæsar*. Ay, and with not the least Blemish to the nicest *Roman* Honour. For whatever Personal Merits he might find in either of the *Cæsars*, He cou'd find none in their *Titles*. He had no Charge of Rebellion to answer for. No, he very well knew his Competitor's Creation, so far (as so rais'd) from any Rightful Dominion over him; that 'twas all but fair Spoil between them: His own Ambition was equally justifiable with that of his Rival's.

After his Overthrow, the whole *Roman* Sovereignty center'd in the single now Victorious *Octavius*, who affecting the whole Regalia of his Predecessor, was pleas'd to be styl'd *Augustus Cæsar*, *Second Emperor of Rome*. After this compleat Accession to Empire, the Swords thro' the whole Earth being sheath'd, 'twas then in the Reign of Universal Peace, the *God of Peace* took his Incarnation, and made his humble Entry into the World.

Tiberius

Tiberius the Third Roman *Cæsar*, mounted into the Imperial Seat by more indirect means than either of his Predecessors. But take them all together, they were more properly set up by the *Populace*, with the *Senate's* least or not hearty Inclination. Not but this new Change of Government retain'd some little Face of a *Republick* still, whilst the *Senatory Patricians* unable to stem so strong a Torrent, soon submitted to run with the new Stream (more their Weakness, than Virtue) with a poor spirited Compliance to the new Dignity of their *Cæsars*, choosing rather a Fragment of Authority with them, than be wholly excluded, and lose all, no longer a reigning *Commonwealth*; No, now at best no more than a subservient Part of the Ministry to a Superior Power above them. The *Roman Emperors* thus stepped over the Heads of their former *Lords and Masters*, and trampling the whole original Right of Government under their Feet, even in the most favourable Character we can give them, very well deserved the just Title of *Usurpers*.

'Twas in this Reign the Gospel Light broke forth, and 'was to this *Tiberius*, tho' a *Heathen* and *Usurper*, was the first Oracle of Obedience to Rulers, delivered from the Mouth of our blessed Redeemer himself, in that short, but comprehensive Precept, *Render to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, &c.* A Doctrine more largely display'd by his Deputed Substitutes, our Apostolical Guides in Divine Commission under him.

And here, Brother, I cannot forbear this, I hope no improper, Reflection. That as it lay in the
the

the Breast of God to select the Time when he sent his Son into the World; had his Mission been in any of the Reigns of the Lineal Kings of *Judah*; and then this Doctrine had been preach'd by any of his Apostles, or by our Saviour himself, it might have given you and your Cause some little pretended Handle of Argument in your Defence. But now it looks, as if he sent him down in that Age, and under those then ruling Powers, when enforcing that important Article of his Gospel-Commission, the leading Commandment of the second Table, *viz. Obedience to higher Powers*; shou'd put all arising Disputes on that Subject to an Eternal Silence.

When St. Paul in his larger Treatise of Obedience to Rulers set out with that great Precept; *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*, he enforced that Christian Duty, by no less an Argument, then, that *There is no Power but of God*. And yet as if he had not been expressive enough in that solemn Declaration of the glorious Origine of Sovereignty, he farther adds. *The Powers that be, are ordain'd of God*: As undoubtedly resolving to quiet all Scruples and prevent all possible Mistakes, in that more peculiar Direction to what Powers our Duty was to be pay'd, *viz. The Powers that be*, not those that *be not*, and what in the Case of *England*, in all human Prospect, never shall be.

Here, Brother, think seriously with your self, into what Labyrinth and Confusion does your Fantastick Opinion lead you. When besides your flying in the Face of all Divine Authority, so plain

against You ; What a Task do you find even for God himself ! For as nothing is more apparent, then that he sets up the Princes and Rulers that reign over us. Yes, as a Sparrow falls not to the Ground without the Will of the Almighty, much less can we suppose, a Prince can ascend a Throne, without the Concurrence of the same Divine *Will*, and consequently by his *Immutable Decree*. And yet at the same time, you on your Side can suppose your selves bound to transfer your whole Affections, Desires and Duty to what he has not, and possibly never will set up. If any such Transfer or Alienation of your Duty cou'd be enjoyn'd you by any Divine Precept or Obligation, what's this but making the Commands of God contradict his Decrees, in prescribing us that Obedience, which even he himself, by his own Dispensations, renders wholly impracticable !

As our inspir'd Writers therefore have declar'd, There is no Power but of God, and all Powers are of his Ordination, what least solid Argument can you pretend to raise, That any inviolable Preservation of an unbroken Line of Sovereign Birth-right either *is* or indeed *cou'd* be commanded of God. No, Brother, never wonder at the utter Silence of our whole Divine Records on that Subject. For as *past*, *present*, and *to come*, lie equally before th' Almighty BEING ; and consequently in his Divine Foresight he had *will'd*, and thereby *decreed* such Changes both of Governors and Governments thro' all Ages, and thro' all Nations ; He neither *did* nor indeed *cou'd* commission any of his inspir'd Law-givers to lay down any
par-

particular Divine Commands or Directions on that Head. No, as much Merit as there may be in *Lineal Descent*, and uninterrupted Birthright, however such have been the various Dispensations of his Providence in the several Revolutions thro' the World, that have again and again broke through that Descent : And nevertheless as 'tis declar'd, that all Power, (in or out of Lineage) is equally of God ; I hope, Brother, you will not be Sanguine enough to maintain ; That the *Power* and *Right* are separate, a Power acknowledg'd to derive from no less than an Almighty Founder, and yet with no Claim of Right or Title to support it, being a Notion a little too chimerical.

And what tho' in Relation to the Variety of Governments and more various Tempers and Qualifications of Governors, it may be said that many a cruel and barbarous Prince or Potentate ; have been, by his Divine Decrees, sometimes set Rulers over Mankind ; such an Ordination however cannot in the least reflect upon the Justice or Righteousness of his Decrees. No, tho' the Power and Sovereignty be wholly the Gift of God ; the Abuse of Power, and Misdeeds of Sovereign Heads are all their own. Nay, there may be that Case, as in the primitive Persecutions of the Christians, That as *Sanguis Martyrum Semen Ecclesie*, The Blood of the Martyrs had been decreed should be the Seed of the Church, (being indeed no more then what our Saviour himself foretold to his Disciples in their Sufferings for his Name, &c.) Who ought to question but the bloodiest of Tyrants, a *Nero*, and *Caligula*, were equally by Divine Ordination

nation set up Emperors of *Rome*, as *David* and *Solomon* Kings of *Judah*.

As thus far, Brother, I have laid these plain Evidences, these manifest and undeniable Truths before you, enough to confute any thing but the most hardned Effrontery, give me leave to express my just Astonishment, to think that the whole Body of our Orthodox Clergy, shou'd agree in the deepest Fundamentals of our Faith, as that of the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, the *Real Presence*, &c. Tho' all these so far above our human Penetration, and so wrapt up in the profoundest Mystery; nevertheless there can be a dissenting Party amongst 'em, that can stumble at a Straw, and stagger at plain and even most visible Fact, such manifest Proof for their Conviction.

Who, at least what learned Man, can pretend Ignorance in all the various Constitutions, and as various Changes of Government through the World, all presented before him in a fair Historical Light, and then turning to our Evangelical Oracles, find the Doctrine of Obedience to Rulers and Governors, set forth in all that Plainness, that open Discovery, not so much as couch'd even in a Parable, and so expressly directing and bounding our Duty to the Powers in Possession, that hold the present Authority over us; and yet continue obstinate against Demonstration it self: What I say, can hold out in such perverse Contradiction to the clearer enlighten'd Reason of their worthier Brethren, the Fellow Labourers in the Gospel with them, but downright willful Blindness.

And

And here, Brother, would you set but a true Glass before you to see your own Pictures, what Load of Dirt will you find has your Party thrown in their own Faces, even in one particular Conduct? For as your self, and indeed the whole Clergy have never been wanting in exerting their Elective Privileges, in all our late Call of *Parliaments*, thro' the whole three last Reigns: Methinks your very Pride should disdain to joyn with what you call *Usurpers*, especially in that strongest Supporter of their Crowns, their *Legislature*. Besides your so joyning with them looks either like your Recognizing their Rightful Titles, or otherwise aiding and maintaining them in their unjust *Usurpations*, either of them not much to your Credit, or the Reputation of your Cause. However, as our several *Parliaments* even to a *nemine contradicente*, have declar'd their repeated Resolution to uphold and defend the Settlement in the Protestant Line of Succession, and have been never wanting in any thing conducing thereunto: By Virtue therefore even of your own select *Representatives* concurring in that Resolution, what have you less then made this very Line of Succession your own Establishment? And consequently in your warmest Zeal for your dear *Idol* abroad, you are shamefully attacking your own Act and Deed: Ay, and no less than daily making new Laws and new Fences, against that Head you want to see incircled in a Crown.

But, Brother, this last Blot is one of your least Faults: And indeed all I have urged in my Discourse hitherto, tho' on this important Subject,

even the Weakness of your whole Foundation, is more for detecting and confuting your Erroneous Opinion, than chastizing you for it. I must now proceed to lay a more Capital Charge against you, and accordingly you must expect to hear me treat you with a little more Severity.

But first to point out the Offenders, before we arraign the Offence, we must be forced to look into the present State of our *Clergy*. Here we shall find, that as no Man is admitted into the Orders of *Priesthood* before such an Age; and 'tis so many Years since King *WILLIAM*'s Accession to the Throne; it will, thereby appear, that our Divines under Fifty Five Years received their Ordination in one of the Three last Reigns. In such a Comprehension of Time we may modestly compute, that at least Six Parts of Seven of the whole Clergy exceed not that Age. And therefore 'tis amongst this Junior and Larger List we must seek for the main Band of Mutineers amongst us.

Here to trace up your unhappy Principles to their Fountain Head; we will not entertain so poor a Thought of you, as to believe, that any later *Ignis Fatuus*, any Illumination either from *Pertb* or *Preston*, (neither converted by *Mar*, or *Foster*) brought you over such passionate Devotes to the *Pretender*. No, Brother, as you took not your Holy Orders till at such a full Ripeness of Years, and furnish'd with all suitable Learning to capacitate you for serving at the Altars of God, it was impossible you cou'd be ignorant, whether you took them in the Reign of a *Lawful Prince*

or an *Usurper* : And consequently you must bring your Affections and Aversions along with you. Now knowing that there lay both an Oath of *Allegiance*, and another of *Abjuration*, (Oaths of that kind being no more than all Government provide for their own Defence) Two such frightful Ushers to hand you into your Ministry, the one obliging you to swear Fealty to a Power that was your utter Abhorrence ; and the other to disclaim and renounce what carried your whole Devotion ; what hard Mouths must you bring with you to swallow and digest Two such tough Oaths.

Nor is *Perjury* alone a necessary Footstep to mount you to the High Altar. No, Brother, yours being no volatile Mercury, as you resolve to keep up your Characters, what a necessity is here laid upon you, through the whole Liturgy in so many repeated Prayers for his present *Majesty*, and his whole Line of *Succeſſion*, &c. All which are so far from the Language of your Hearts, that if we may call them Prayers, at least from such Mouths, at best you desire the God you address them to, to read them, like what we say of the Prayers of Witches, *backwards*.

I have met this Inscription over the Front of one of the publick Theaters, *Totus Mundus agit Histrionem*. The whole World copies from the Stage-Player. How much soever this Vizard Face, like that of the Comedian's borrow'd Look, may be worn amongst the other Ranks of Mankind, I shall not dispute. But give me leave to be heartily sorry to see, the greatest and most notorious Mimick-

ty and Grimace perform'd in our Churches, no less than in the Pulpit it self.

I have often heard you, Brother, extreme loud against the *Presbyterians* as so many Hypocrites, Wolves in Sheeps-cloathing, their whole Devotion meer Whine and Cant, &c. My present Business is not to enter into the Merits of those hard Names so plentifully thrown upon them: However, permit me to be a no little Mourner to see the vilest Cant and Hypocrisy, not wholly (as you pretend) confin'd to the Conventicle: No, Heav'n knows, too much of it crept into our Churches, at least those Churches under your own Jurisdiction.

Alas, Brother; how much more preferable had the Choice of a Plough-tail been, before such Ecclesiastick Qualifications, the honest Bread got by the Sweat of a Brow, not by the Burnings of a fear'd Conscience. For willful and premeditated Perjury can have no other Foundation. And all this possibly for a Living of 50 or 60 *l. per annum*, a small Pittance of Bread so dearly paid for. Nay, and to be acquir'd with no less than the Study of a whole Youth, and perhaps in too many of you, with the whole Stretch of a Father's Purse, and all, Heav'n knows, only to rig out a Son for a *Perjuror* and a *Hypocrite*.

What an Occasional Conformity is here with a Vengeance!

We have read of that pious Mother in the *Maccabees*, whose whole Nursery, rather than pollute their Lips with the Taste of Swine's Fleth, as forbidden by the *Mosaick Law*, cou'd expose themselves,

selves, as so many young Martyrs one after another to the most exquisite Torments. Not that I instance this as a Pattern for you. For I neither believe you Masters of Courage enough to front the Face of Martyrdom; nor is there any Danger of your ever being call'd to it. But methinks, when meer Infants cou'd set you so bright a Sample of *Hardy Virtue* in so Religious a Cause; at least it might have deter'd you from such woe-ful Falsification both with God and Man, and all for so wretched a Temptation; especially when the whole World lay before you for some honest Application for the earning of your Bread. And if any such Oaths had then pursued you to any such more private Station of Life, the very Blame of your taking them, as wholly compell'd, and possibly under too pressing a Necessity for the Quiet of Life, wou'd have been somewhat extenuated; a Fault a little more excusable.

Besides, Brother, Yours is such an Aggravation of Guilt, no less then a Career of Wickedness, never to be check'd nor stoppt. Sins of Human Frailty, tho' of the deepest Dye, (as the most Righteous may have a Fall) thro' the Mercy of a forgiving Heav'n, by Tears and true Penitence may be wash'd off. But at your Admission into the Priesthood, thro' so dreadful an Introduction to it, (a dark Portico to a Temple!) You enter into a *Course* of Iniquity, putting on that Habit you never intend to leave off, but wear it as you do your Skin, to your Grave, with a firm Resolution against all Thoughts of Repentance. -- 'Tis not like the committing an Act of Adultery: No, 'tis

bringing home the Adulteress to your House, to fix her in your Family, and consort with her for Life. Yes, Brother, you never enter into a House of Prayer to the Performance of your Sacerdotal Office, but you bring the same *Perjuror* still, and the same continued *Masquerader* even with GOD himself.

We have been told, that the *Romanists*, for some important Service to their Cause have obtain'd Dispensations to die with a Lie in their Mouths. I know not what Stretch they may have made in such a Service: But this I am well assur'd, That you and your hardier Brethren assume a much larger Dispensation, *viz.* Both to *live* and *die* with a Lie in Yours; at least if you die in the Exercise of your Function. For your Mock-prayers for King *GEORGE* must hold to your last. This Dispensation of yours in that kind I will not presume to say, You received, as the others are suppos'd to do theirs, from the *Pope*. No, Brother, to trace it up to a more Genuine Fount, 'tis a secret Commission undoubtedly granted you, from a much darker Preceptor and Instructor.

And here, Brother, to take down a little of your Pride. As vainly as you fancy your Selves the brightest Ornaments of our Church, especially from your boasted Merit of being such wonderful *Loyalists*, planted there, no doubt, like *Nebuchadnezzar's Image* with all Heads of *Gold*, I am sure by the Course you take for your Admission into her, you move but upon Feet of *Iron* and *Clay*. Yes, Brother, in your wretched Service at the Altar
how

how do you disgrace the House of God, more than the Money-changers, and the rest of the Mercenary Crew, that our Saviour once scourg'd out of it. Their Business and Vocation, had been no ways unlawful on any other less hallowed Ground. But *Hypocrisy* and *Perjury* are every where an Abomination.

And now, Brother, let me modestly ask your self and the rest of your *Janus-faced* Brethren this one serious Question. Who were the honest Men, the *Corab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, those *Antique* Sons of *Levi*, who with a bare-fac'd Assertion of their Rebellious Murmurs, boldly and openly declar'd against their *Moses* and *Aaron*, then the Leaders of the People of *Israel*, that they wou'd not have those Men govern over them; or those of our *Modern* Levitical Tribe, who publicly pray for that Governor, whom in their Hearts they curse. 'Tis true, You particoated Gentlemen have one strong and unanswerable Plea on your Side, *viz.* That you carry on your Murmurs with Impunity, have the peculiar Happiness of living in that Age of Divine Mercy, that no immediate Arm of Vengeance is waked against you. No, Brother, to cheer up your Hearts, you stand upon sure Footing: The Ground holds firm beneath you.

Well, Brother, to sum up your whole Merits in this Cause. If swearing Allegiance to a Prince, to whom you never intend truly and cordially to pay any; and on the other Side, ent'ring into a Solemn Abjuration of that very Person, to whom all your secret Wishes, and the whole Desires of your

your Hearts, are devoted, and whom you want to see mounted on the Throne ; can be thought no Sin, or at least that venial one, as gives you no Scruple or Hesitation against it : And likewise your living and dying in a daily and constant Practice of Hypocrisy, even in your most solemn Addresses to the very Throne of Heaven, can be such another trifling Peccadillio too : What do you less then charge even God himself with Inveracity ? For, if according to your Faith the repeated Denunciations of our Saviour against Hypocrites were all meer empty Blasts, only a little Potgun Thunder (as such they must be to give your Conduct even the least Justification) how wretchedly do you treat our blessed Redeemer even below the *Socinian* or the *Arrian* ; not only robbing him of his Divinity, but denying him his very Truth too ; An Indignity not to be offer'd, at least to an inspir'd Prophet, tho' of much humbler Extraction : No, tho' he had been no more than the Son of *Joseph* the *Carpenter*.

Look you, Brother, you and the rest of your motly Breed may flatter your Selves with whatever feint Ideas of the Oracles of God deliver'd from his own Mouth, as the fairest Argument to palliate your dark Cause with. But 'tis my Advise to you, to think again, and examine your Consciences ; whether tho' your Selves can practise such vile Prevarication ; You can truly believe that God can do so too. Ay, Brother, all this low Conception of the Author of our Salvation, no less than the Second Person of the Godhead, must be a main Article of your Creed, wou'd you pretend even to the least Shadow of an Excuse.

But

But now, Brother, as I have thus far and thus justly arraign'd this more heinous Part of your Character: Alas, here are those more unhappy, and all too mournful Circumstances behind, not yet accounted for. -- The Justice due to such flagrant Iniquity, terminates not in the exposing the Crime or correcting the Criminal. Your Malady has a yet more difusive Malignancy, attended by no less then a whole Train of subsequent Mischiefs.

Yes, Brother, to display the whole malignant Aspect your Conduct and Behaviour have had; You have thrown that Contempt upon the Clergy as an Age will never be able to wear off; fix'd no less then a Scandal upon the Church of *England*, and given a Shock even to Christianity it self. Truly, Brother, this is a hard Charge upon you, but upon due Examination you'll find it a very just one.

For Instance. To begin with the very *Atheist*. Who but your Clan and your Morals not only encourage him in the Disbelief of a God, but in a high Measure furnish him with Arguments to confirm his Infidelity. For as it has been a constant By-word in the Mouths of those profest Libertines, That *Religion is only a Piece of Priestcraft, and the Exercise of it a meer Trade*; What Occasion have you given them of strengthening themselves in that Impious Scurrility! Ay, how many have we of our Spiritual Guides amongst us, that by their Principles and Practice too plainly demonstrate, that either they believe there is no God at all, or at least not that God they preach

him. For Example ; whilst with all that studied Eloquence they declaim to their Auditors against every minutest Sin, setting forth the Dread of an avenging God, and the Eternal Flames he has prepar'd, &c. They are so far from feeling in themselves any great Matter of Terrors from either of them ; that they can plunge into downright Perjury, and all for a little Worldly Ends : Nay, and treat an Almighty Being in the most solemn Service at his very Altars with Banter and Farce, making their very Prayers a Medley betwixt Jest and Earnest. And here, what can the Libertine say less, then that if in the highest Ecclesiastick Station amongst us, no less than the Professors of Divinity, and those that wou'd be thought the strongest Believers, with all their boasted Sanctity dare look up to a Supreme Power with those hardy Fronts ; why should they that rais'd their Eyes no higher than to the Gratification of their Senses, meer Men of Pleasure, be Cravens and Dastards.

Alas ! When in so Sacred a Character as that of the Priestly Office, the Dispensers of the Heavenly Precepts, the Oracles of our Holy Religion, can make themselves a Jest to the World ; it goes a great way, but with too many to make a Jest of Religion too.

Turn next to the publick Oppressions now reigning in the World. Trace the Miser and the Usurer up to all their ill-gotten Wealth : Do they not justify or at least excuse all their Exactions and Cruelties from the notorious Precedents you and your Tribe have set so glaring before them !

Do

Do they not see how many we have of those that make it the Study of their Youth to capacitate them for the Ministry of the Gospel amongst us, but in their Principles so utterly unqualify'd for that Office, when nothing lies before them but their Entry to it through willful Perjury; nay, and a Necessity of wearing the vilest Face of Hypocrisy both with God and Man; and all this hardy Sacrifice of a good Conscience for so trifling a Worldly Interest.

And here shall not the severest Extortioner tell you: He makes no such Stretch. He thanks God he has no Breach of Oaths to front him in his Dealings with Mankind: He owns, indeed, he is a hard Man, and uses all Possible Industry to fill his Coffers; nay, and perhaps the utmost Severities, whether by Seizure or Goals to get his own. And what then! Though *Summum Jus* has contracted the hard Name of *Summa Injuria*, 'tis *Jus* still; and the Law, and that in a Christian Kingdom too upholds him in it. And the worst the World can say of him, is, that he uses his ablest Endeavours to amass his Thousands and Ten Thousands like a kind and careful Parent for the Support of his Children and Posterity.

For one Unhappiness more. As the Discovery of such notorious Blots tho' but in a Part (and we hope much the least) of our Orthodox Clergy, goes a great Way to the lessening the Dignity and Reputation of the whole Order: How many of the brightest Luminaries of our Church may have the unhappy Aspersions thrown upon them, of being touch'd with your own Teint; when the
publick

publick Jealousy rais'd on such an Occasion looks but too often thro' a multiplying Glafs. And as all are not Friends to the Church, so Enmity is never wanting to improve and exaggerate all popular, at least malicious, Suggestions.

For yet more Malevolent Influence still. As so many of you in your Station, that shou'd be the leading Lights of the World, on the contrary, The Daily Sacrifice you bring to our Altars, too like that of *Cain*, carries so much of the Sheaf of Stubble in it; Here, as there is never wanting a dark Whisperer at every Man's Elbow, ready to lay hold of every least Argument, and Insinuation to enervate our Devotion: To see therefore, those that shou'd lead the Way, drive with such slack Reins, as if the Work of Religion were so slight, and the Passage to Heaven so easy, it gives but too prevailing a Temptation to frail Mortality to copy from so loose an Original; and consequently renders the Performance of our Christian Duty more languid and Lifeless; insomuch, that the present Decay of Piety amongst us, is in a high Measure owing to the rueful Patterns you set us.

Nay, for yet greater Fatality still; how do you and your Sociates labour even against your selves! Consider, Brother, how many tender Consciences are naturally apt not to be over fond of trusting the Care of their Souls with those Spiritual Directors that have so slight a Care of their own.

Here

Here indeed, You may have some Reason (as You pretend) to fear the Growth of *Presbytery*; Ay, too much of it, God knows; of Your own planting. For to be plain with You: Instead of making Your selves those shining Lights that Men may see Your Good Works; as You manage it, You take Care to make Your Darknes so lour, as to scare 'em with Your Bad ones. Infomuch, that from the frightful Examples You set before them, the Weak and the Unwary are too apt to find much fairer Attractions in any other Communion than Our own.

Yes, Brother, as highly as You and the Rest of Your own wayward Fraternity, value Your selves for being those strenuous Champions of the Church of *England*, the Miserable Figures You make in her, unhappily contribute to a quite-contrary Cause. Nay, the very Dissenters themselves, instead of being angry with You at all the long Outcry You have made against them, whether in or out of Your Pulpits, ought rather to be thankful to You for the ample Amends You make them, in this one peculiar Service You do them.

But here, Brother, as we are speaking of *Presbytery*, I must come to a very serious Argument with You upon that Head, in discoursing a little upon the Fears and Jealousies, that You and I may say, only You and Your Party have started in representing that the Church of *England* lies under no less impending Danger, then of being undermin'd and supplanted by that only Sect of our Dissenters, the *Presbyterians*. Nay, some of Your

Cloth are still hardy enough to be very open upon that Subject even in our Pulpits.

Now, Brother, if this frightful Apparition of Yours shou'd be only conjur'd up amongst You, the better to carry on Your Cause. As to be plain with You, You give us a very shrewd Suspicion that way. For, alas, we well know, You are vow'd Enemies to the present Administration; and 'tis but natural Policy in those that want Revolutions to blacken the present Government (whether by Truth or Falshood, it matters not, *Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat!*) thereby for animating and increasing the Malecontents against it, in order to so much the easier Work of a Change of Government. And that You are highly qualified for the promoting all such barbarous Calumnies against it; You that are daring enough to prevaricate with God, can never shrink at Falsification with Man, at least for such an Important Service. If then, as I say, it be all a Matchiavilian Game play'd upon us, a Spirit of Delusion rais'd to bugbear the Fools of the World, only to serve a Turn, let me tell You, Brother, it carries so dark an Aspect, as ought to strike us with Horrour.

But if I may be mistaken, and perhaps have wrong'd You in this Suspicion, (as from the Bottom of my Soul I wish I may have so done) and that on the contrary, I might more justly say, That Your Terrours from this Church Specter that haunts You, are no ways fictitious, but Your real Fears and Jealousies; should I prove so mistaken in You, it would be some pleasure to me so far to clear

Your

Your Honesty, at least in that point. But then, on the other side, when the Appearance of all this lowering Storm from that Quarter shall be fully and thoroughly inspected and examin'd, I shall be forced to reproach You with all that egregious Weakness, set you out such a wretched Sett of fearful Ones, as ought to move our Pity, or rather our Laughter.

And here to fathom the whole Depth of Your Frights and Fears; before I enter upon this terrifying Subject, give me Leave first to hope that the Spirit of *Quixotisme* runs not so high amongst You, as to fear that barely the Presbyterian *Toleration*, tho' supported by never so warm Smiles and Favours, shall threaten any of this wonderful Danger to the Church of *England*. You lye not sure under any Affright, that the Huts and Tabernacles erected for their Religious Worship, shall ever overtop our *St. Paul's*, or *St. Peter's*. No, Brother, this Vision of Danger must arise, we reasonably suppose, from Your Apprehension, or fancied Prospect of some yet more exalted Establishment of Presbytery; no less then her stepping over the Head of our poor lost Church, and mounting into her Throne, invested with her Regalia, her Pow'r, Authority, and all her whole Rights and Possessions.

To joyn Issue therefore with You in this Point of the Controversy, *Viz.* That Presbytery is like to be set up the Regnant Religion of the Kingdom, and consequently our own whole Church dismantled, and her Revenues confiscated, the *Gown* must resign to the *Cloak*, and accordingly our whole

discarded Clergy be obliged to make Room for these New Mounters into our Pulpits.

If hence, Your Fear arises, pray, Brother, how must this prodigious Operation be perform'd? By Law? or against Law? Certainly not against Law, by any Arbitrary Establishment. 'Tis true, there was a bold Hand that once ventur'd to abdicate a whole Colledge; nay, and as boldly to send some of our Episcopal Pastours to the Tower; an Essay dearly paid for; as those being the Two Chief Articles that cost him his Crown. But to imagine that there can be that yet harder Adventurer as shall utterly exclude even *Episcopacy* it self; make Prize both of our Churches and Colledges, and all to equip a New Set of Conscience-Keepers for us: I hope, Brother, no such oversiz'd Gigantick Vision gives You Your Pain.

If then, it must be perform'd by Law, where will You find the Lawmakers? No, to confront that Ridiculous Suggestion: As it may be modestly computed that the whole Body of the Dissenters thro' all *England*, make not one Third of the Nation, and the Presbyterians amongst them not a full Moiety of that Third; are we therefore to suppose, that possible a 7th Part of our *English* Nation shall carry the Majority of Members in a *British* Election of our *Legislators*. No, so far short of any such Number, that in our Calls of Parliaments they never yet could make up their own Proportion of *Representatives*; so much to the Contrary, that we may venture to averre, that they never yet made a full Score, of *South-British*
Pres-

Presbyterians, really and truly such, in a whole House of Commons.

And that for these Reasons. As the Inequality of their Voices cannot carry an Election wholly to their own Inclination, they must be forc'd to fall in with the superior Number of Electors, or otherwise not choose at all----- All this the *Presbyterians* very well know, and therefore in all their Choise of Members they have rarely or never attempted to set up a Man of their own Perswasion, and so have been obliged to Vote for one of our own Churchmen. Not but they have been zealously Industrious to bar all Persecuting Spirits from that High Trust, and thereupon have been wholly inclinable to the Choice of those *Representatives* whose known Principles of Lenity and Moderation might treat them on all Occasions with Mercy and Humanity; and herein by the Conjunction of their own Church Brethen-Electors, they may often, or at least so far, have gain'd their Point.

Nay, to make You all Reasonable Concessions, we'll suppose, that some petty Corporation, stinted to but a scanty Number of Voters, may happen to have a Majority of *Presbyterians*: However 'tis twenty to one if their Choice of their Burghesses falls not upon some Honourable and Wealthy Neighbours, even of the Church of *England*, in all likelyhood some long-tryed Benefactors and Patrons to their Community. Yes, Brother, their Worldly, not wholly their Religious Interests being consulted in these Cases.

L

Nay,

[30]

Nay, Brother, here's one Argument of Your own to dissipate Your empty Fears of any Overpowering Strength from the Presbyterians in our *Legislature*. As the Union of the *Two Kingdoms* was made in that Administration, when even Your self acknowledge the *Royal Foundress* of it, was the farthest of all our Crown'd Heads, from the least Leaning towards Presbytery; You cannot but remember how highly, and indeed how justly, she prided Her self in having that Great Work accomplisht in her own Reign, accounting it One of the Brightest Jewels in her Crown. And yet tho' by that *Union* even She her self added no less then *Forty six* Presbyterian Votes, in her *North-British* Members, to her House of Commons; and *Sixteen* to her House of Lords; we never yet heard of her Own, or her Ministry's least Jealous Pang, from any Apprehension of her weakening her Establish'd Church of *England*, tho' from so considerable a Kirk-Force, then list'd and incorporated amongst us.

No, Brother, nothing has so much fenced our *British* Parliaments from any Overstock of Presbyterians amongst them, as the late Establish'd Qualification repair'd of our Members, *viz.* To be worth so many Hundreds per Annum, if not on the very Spot, at least in the County wherever they stand Candidates for an Election. This has fixt the General Choice amongst the most Wealthy and Honourable Families in all Counties, and as such mostly of that Antient Original, who so far from listning to any Noveltyes in Religion, value themselves for Kneeling at those Establish'd Altars, where

where their Fathers bow'd before them, looking up to the Church of *England* as Restor'd with the *Monarchy*, and thereby even brightned by her Sufferings, and no less justly entituled to the warmest and most Vigorous Protection from her Dutyful Sons. And as 'tis from this Senatory Qualification so settled (being what no Parliament will ever yeild to recede from) our Church holds one of her strongest Securities.

But now Brother, more and above the Manifest Truth and Reason I have here laid down, give me Leave to detect the Weakness of the most plausible Arguments, and those but lately started, for the Confirmation of Your long pretended Terrours from Presbytery, *viz.* The late Repeal of those Two Laws, that against *Occasional Conformity* and the other the *Schisme Act*.

To the Thinking Part of Mankind nothing certainly appears more unanswerable, then that the Church of *England* Members in Both Houses, that Voted for the Repeal of those Two Laws, acted with all the True Spirit of the *Englishman*, the *Patriot* and the *Loyalist*, without any Derogation from their own *Religious Principles*, or the least Disguise, or Blemish in their Characters of Hearty Sons of their own Establishd Mother. Nay, on the Contrary, rather Champions of the Faith and Worship they profess.

For Instance. To begin with the *Schisme Act*. As the First Founders of the *Toleration*, the *Liberty of Conscience* granted to the Dissenters, gave it them, without any Restraint laid upon them against bringing up their Children in their own Be-

leif, and to their own Way of Worship, nothing is more plain, then that very *Schisme Bill* was either the product of the most wretched Spight, or more Wretched Timidity, in so poorly taking any part of what had been so kindly granted or permitted them before.

As the First Founders therefore of that Liberty conceiv'd no Fears either from Fathers or Sons; neither from the present Dissenters nor their Posterity after them; who doubts but the Brightest Sons of our Church, as disdaining to stoop to so poor a Resumption; and asham'd of being tax'd with either the Malice or Cowardise of the First Authours of it; out of a tenderer Point both of *Justice* and *Honour*, have now by the Repeal of it, restor'd them to their Original Claim of Favour.

Besides, the Service of the Nation call'd for it. What a scandalous Brand would it have been, a Worse then Mark of *Cain* set upon them. As much as to tell 'em; We *Churchmen* have granted You *Dissenters* (tho' much against our Wills) Your Lease of Liberty for Your own Lives: But we'll take care to stop the Breed of You, unless You'll be contented to raise up Your Children by a more illiterate Nursery at Your own Homes, or otherwise to send them for a more chargeable Education to a Remoter Tutouridge abroad.

Look You, to repel Offences by Offences; Decrees or Statutes enacted by any Community or Government against any Thing injurious to it self, is no more then natural Selfpreservation. But to give disgust and unease, and that too by the Sanction, or rather Injustice of a Law, to those that
are

are utterly out of all pow'r of giving Us any (for so stands the Safety of *England*) is Cruelty for Cruelty sake. And no doubt our *Patriots* at the Helm, and those the Worthiest of them, might look upon the Continuation of that Cruelty in this very Case, as something below the Profession and Dignity of a Christian.

Besides they must be highly sensible that they served the Crown and the Government by the Ease given to such a Body of Subjects, thereby not only yet farther engaging their Affections, but likewise securing so many ready Hands (if at any Time wanted) to the publick Service.

As to the Occasional Conformity Bill, it appears to have been the Product both of the poorest-spirited Ill-nature, and the Denial even of common Justice, being both a Discourager of Industry, and an Infringer of every *Englishman's* Birth-right. For as the Freedom of *Commerce* (*Commerce* the chief Supporter of the *British* Grandeur) and all other honest Industry, lie equally open to every Freeborn *Englishman* of whatever Religious Perswasion. If therefore a Member of any Trading Community shall be obliged to pass thro' every Inferiour publick Office within his Precinct, till thro' the Smiles of Providence rais'd by his prosp'rous Successes in the World; and thereby possibly to that Strength of Purse, as to be able to serve his King and Country in every Exigence of the Government: And being thus advanced to a Successive Claim to the Head-Magistracy of a Corporation (a short Feather but of a Years wearing:) If his fair Dealings with Mankind, and his

other Sociable Virtues shall have so endear'd him to the Rest of his Brother Burghers, as to be call'd up by their Election to that Authority, it being their unquestion'd Right to choose him such, and therefore no less, in all Reason, his own Right to accept it: Nevertheless, as he lay under the Obligation of appearing at our Publick Worship during the Wear of that Feather; if he made some little Stretch for such an Appearance (for there's nothing so terrible in the Church of *England*, as to fright a Dissenter, tho' possibly according to the Weakness of his Judgment, not Attractions enough to hold him a Constant Communicant there) Woe betide him upon any such stretch so made, if at any Time afterwards, tho' then but in his private Capacity, he shou'd ever make any publick Return to his own Worship. For this *Occasional* Bill, was set up like a *Romish Inquisition* against him, to scourge him upon any such Default, as no less than an *Apostate*-----And why all this Severity? Cou'd his Kneeling at our Altars do any Service to his own Worship, or any Disservice to Ours? Not in the least. Or cou'd the Authority of a Corporation Magistrate, (whatever more pompous Figure it might make in our *Capital City*) little exceeding that of a Common Justice of the Peace, empow'r him to any Publick or Private Injustice, in the pettier Causes that might be brought before him? No, quite otherwise. For the Laws of the Land, and the Superior Courts of Judicature were ready to give him all due Punishment for every such Breach of his Magistratical Duty.

Besides

Besides in the Rescinding these Two only Remaining Restrictions of the Dissenters entire Liberty of Conscience, what Greater Honour could they do to the Church of *England*, then thereby reinstating her in her Primitive Lustre, and Beauty; a Church, now so entirely Reform'd, as to have thrown away her whole Whips and Scourges, her last and only Reliques of *Rome*, and thus truly copying her Great Founder in that Brightest of his Attributes, *Mercy*; treating her weaker Brethren with all that Gentleness, Humanity, and Forbearance; and from thence enriching and adorning her self with that fairest of all Divine Graces, CHARITY.

Nor might they less Honourably consider. That all other penal Laws are instituted purely for Crimes committed against God. The Rebel, the Thief, the Murderer, the Adulterer and the Perjuror &c all punisht tho' by Humane Laws, yet chiefly as Offenders and Transgressours against the Express Laws of God, laid down in his Holy Commandments. But Dissent in Religious Opinions and Worship is an Offence only against Man. Man only declares it a Transgression, and as such prescribes its Punishment. For, alas, the Scriptural Records, tho' the brightest Divine Light for the whole Christian Guidance, shine not on all Judgements alike. And consequently the Coercion of Conscience in Matters purely of Faith lying wholly out of all humane Power, a Christian Government ought to be very tender of using Severities, more especially in so vain and fruitless a Labour.

But what gives the Decisive Argument against all such Severities, is the Article in the *Apostles Creed*. *I believe in the Holy Catholick Church, &c.* An *Universal Church* takes in a large Comprehension: So large, that besides our just Objections against the Notorious Errours and Corruptions crept into the *Church of Rome*, now so fal'n from the Purity of the Primitive State of Christianity; as wide as She has spread her self thro' Christendom, we make a Jest of her Arrogant Assumption of the Title of *Catholick*; and consequently look not only still farther, but likewise for yet clearer Gospel Light within the far larger Circle of the *Universal Church*. As therefore the Present Churches thro' the World, at least those that make the Greatest Figure; besides our *Own* are the *Lutheran*, the *Calvinist*, and the Remoter *Grecian Church*. Ours being a separate Communion from either of them, as differing from them not only in her Rites of Worship, but in some points of Doctrine. And therefore the narrower Establish'd Church of Our *South-Britain*, amongst so much a more extended Christian Neighbourhood all round her; with what common Justice can She pretend to impose any penal Hardships upon Members of the same Perswasion with some of those abroad, (and all declared a Part of the *Holy Catholick Church*;) now sprinkled among us, within her own Virge of Dominion, as being Dissenters from her self; especially when she acknowledges her self to be *Fallible*, and thereby out of all Absolute Assurance whether She or They are in the Right, in the unadjusted Disputes, the few unreconcil'd Differences,

between

between Them. Besides, Brother, we hope it may be no Stretch of Christian Charity to believe, that as our Holy Religion has been now propagating for near Two Thousand Years, with so many continued Disputes between the several Professors of it, and those in all likelyhood not to be united into an entire Harmony amongst them to the End of the World; undoubtedly therefore the Religious Addresses, if perform'd with true Zeal and Piety, to the Immortal Throne, tho' with those Remaining Differences betwixt the several Performers, may still be found an equally acceptable Sacrifice. Nay for one farther Argument for the Abolition of all such Penalties, if only upon Humane Policy, and Worldly Considerations. It unhappily bore a very odd Face in our Present Establishment, *viz.* That since the late *Union of South and North-Britain*, in the very same Kingdom a Presbyterian, as such, on this side the *Trade* should be call'd down a Criminal to the Bar; and on the other side call'd up a Judge on the Bench, the Magistrate on one side and Culprit on the other: And therefore under such an unequal Division of Favours even from the Constitution it self, our Law-makers might reasonably be inclined, even meerly for that Consideration, to reconcile so wide a Disparity between them, at least so far as by taking off so invidious a Reproach from our Southern Professors of the very same Faith with their Northern more Exalted Brethren.

And lastly these *Outlies* of the *Pale* seem'd to claim some Grains of Favour from the Publick, even for this Merit alone, That we never yet re-

ceiv'd the least Intelligence of any *Renegadoes* amongst them, Spirited over either by *Mar* or *Poster* into the late Rebellion. Wou'd we could say as much of our Own Churchmen----- They could be thankful in their firmest Duty and Obedience to the Government for no more then the Toleration of their Worship. But, alas, too many false Brothers amongst Us, can return the blackest Ingratitude and Infidellity for the Highest of Favours, no less a Blessing then their whole Protection and Preservation----- Nor have they been wanting in open Hearts and as open Purfes in carrying on so long and so chargeable a War: Nay and so zealous for the Honour of the Nation, that not contented with so hearty a Frankness in serving the Kingdom, they seem'd almost to mourn the no longer Call for that expensive Service; so far from repining at their own Cost and Expence towards it, that they never yet bent the Knee to our late *Peacemakers*. For we never yet heard of any *Presbyterian Address* of Thanks for the late *Utrecht* Operation; as possibly out of a Principle of meer good Husbandry, looking upon it (to use the Traders Expression) as somewhat a weak Bargain, *alias* a Pennyworth sold too Cheap. Not but to do Justice to the present Friendship of *France*, more the Merits of the Wisdom and prudent Management of *Britain's* now most Gracious Sovereign then to any Hand else, it has so pleased the Divine Providence to make us an ample Return in the Glorious Assistance of that Grateful Nation, now so Faithful and so Potent an Allie to the present Cause of Britain.

You

You see, Brother, for what Consideration all these Good Graces from the Publick, both the Presbyterians, and the other Dissenters, in joynt Favour with them, have obtain'd. Not that it ought to give You any Shadow of Fear that our *Senatory Patriots* stand in the Least inclinable to set up a *Scot's Kirk* for the Ecclesiastical Government of *England*. So far from it, that the very Pride of *England* would start at the Impudence of even the least propofal that way tending. 'Tis not sufficient that too many of Your Leven are Sow'r enough to cry out at every Start *Here's Forty One coming on again*. And ask them the possibility of any such Apprehension, The immediate Answer is, *What has been may be*. Wretched Reasoners! If *what has been*, has been too dreadful and horrid, for that very Reason it shall never be again. No, the very Alarm of any Motion made that Way would put the whole Nation upon their Guard against it. No overshameful false Game will ever be suffer'd to be plaid twice. And we doubt not but the whole Body of our Best Patriots, would look upon the least Essay, tho' if possible, to be legally tender'd to them, towards any such Revolution amongst us, with that utter Abhorrence, as justly to think it a Work of no less Barbarity, then breaking thro' all Right and Property, and tearing the whole Bread from so many Thousand Mouths.

Then, prethee, Brother, sit quietly down, and rest thy self satisfied, that all the Laws that are, or ever shall be made in favour of the Dissenters,

will never touch the least Tyl of one of thy Tythe-Pigs.

But stay; not to quit this Argument, I have one short Account more to make up with You, and that a very dark one. And here, Brother, I must lay open the Deepest Rancour of Your Soul, in that barbarous Insinuation so industriously handed round amongst You; an Insinuation not only so notorious for its Impiety, but no less ridiculous even in the Inconsistency of it. As if that very *Prince* who values himself for being the Champion of Distress and Scourge of Ambition, now so indefatigably Labouring to hush, if possible, the Disquiets of the World, and give Peace to all *Europe*; shall at the same Time be supposed to harbour even so much as a Thought of Enflaming his own Kingdoms, tearing their whole Peace asunder, and unhinging the whole Frame of his own Government (for such would be the Effects of any such Attempt) and all this to mount a new Set of Favourites, and those so minor a Part of the Nation, to the Loss of all Hearts besides; if followed with no other yet more fatal Consequences.

What a sorrowful Reflection must it be to see such Folly and Frenzy reign among us, when the Empty Dreams of Popular Jealousie can start such Wild and preposterous Phantoms? That a *Papist Prince* upon a Protestant Throne may be tempted and drawn into all the poorest Artifices for the supplanting of our Church to Advance his Own, gives us no Wonder. For here's the strongest Impulse of Conscience, and no less then the Highest Divine *Merit* to drive him forwards in such a Cause,

as beleiving he snatches so many Souls from *Hell* to add Saints to *Heaven* in the Converts he brings over to his Church.

But for a *Protestant Prince*, with not the least Temptation to one false Step : A Prince who by the Fundamentals of his Faith beleives there's Salvation in all Churches, to suppose that he shall be inclinable to disturb, nay subvert the Religious Constitution of his Kingdoms, and all this violent Rupture, to the highest Disservice to himself, but to God no service at all ; is a Conception fit only for the Brains of downright *Idiotisme* or *Lunacy*.

And now after all, if still deaf to all Sense and Reason, you can possibly perswade Your self truly and sincerely to Beleive, that any of this terrible Inundation of *Presbytery* is breaking in upon Us, and our Church ; I could heartily wish You, out of a true Brotherly Affection, to apply to some honest *Physitian* to inspect the true State of Your Health : Lay open but Your Pain, and undoubtedly the Learned in that Science will find those Melancholy Symptoms about You, as to Advise You to a dark Room, and clean Straw for Your Recovery. Ay, Brother, such a *Physical Operation* would be of Great Service towards the Restoring Your Right Senses.

To draw towards a Conclusion, you see how I have set forth the whole *Weakness* of Your Cause (would *Weakness* were all the Champions of it had to answer for !) A Cause, in which You have so long labour'd, and with so little Success. 'Tis true, You have got some empty Honour by it, in that dignified and distinguishing Title, You have so
 O long

long acquired, and so highly Glory in, *viz.* *High-Churchmen*; an Appellation that when thoroughly considered, is a downright Banter upon You. In my Judgement, and with Good Reason on my side, the *High-Churchman* should be He that Glorifies his God, for giving us a Line of Sovereign Heads, those True *Defenders of our Faith*, that shall both Reign over our Church and Shine in her; so heartily and so effectually supporting her, as to set Her in Earnest above all Attempts from the whole unprevailing *Gates of Hell*.

On the other Side, who so properly the *Low-Churchmen*, as they who curse her Deliverers; repine at her Safety and Prosperity; want a whole Line of *Successors*, who, tho' possibly, at the first Step into the Thorne, may not be hardy enough to enter upon any immediate Outrages against her; (more their Cowardise then Goodness;) nay, and perhaps, at least for some little Time, shall carry as fair a Face towards her, as You do to King GEORGE in Your publick Prayers for him; but in their Hearts looking down upon her with the lowest Hatred and Contempt, as the Mother of those Reprobate and Apostate Sons, sign'd and seal'd (as so many *Hereticks*) the Children and Heirs of Eternal Perdition: So far from vouchsafing her the Honour of owning Themselves even so much as the Titular Heads of the Church of *England*, that they shall throw her from the Civil Government, and give her up to an entire *In-dependancy* within herself.----- Ay, that's Your first Expectation. and indeed, (as too many of You have declar'd) the Top of Your Hopes: When
every

every poorest Parson of a Parish, by Virtue of this *Independancy* shall set up for a little *Pope*, within his own tho' somewhat narrow Dominion.--What a lengthend Race of such Successors shall produce, when Time, Growth, and Strenght shall have enabled them to tread down our Church to a *Low One* indeed, we'll leave to the Judicious. Now, Brother to mend this barbarous *Misnomer* amongst us, prethee let us fairly change Names, You the *Low-Churchmen*, and we the *High Ones*.

But here to take Leave of You with a little Good Counsel at parting. As nothing can be more plainly proved, then that the Divine Commands in their Original Precepts of the Duty of Subjects oblige You to a Religious Obedience to the Powers that reign over You; so You see that *Heaven* by a Chain of Providence has so champion'd for the Present Reigning MAJESTY of these Kingdoms as to have render'd Your Despicable Cause so forlorne and Hopeless, that even whole Nations, tho' of the *Romish Perswasion*, have so joyn'd in defending the present Settlement of the *Crown*, as to be ready to battle Your own Darling, now forsaken by God and Man, upon any Attempt of aspiring to the Throne of *Great Britain*: Infomuch that Your Expectation of his Accession to *Empire* is almost as ridiculous as That of the *Turks* at *Macha* for their *Mahomets* Resurrection. And therefore, dear Brother, let Your infatuated Party run no longer retrograde to Your honest Brethren, the Worthier Pastors of our Church; but take thame to Your Selves, beg Pardon, and return to Your Duty.

We have, God be prais'd, a Learned, and generally a Laborious Clergy, and if only some Few of You, hitherto unhappily misled, would follow the Brighter Examples, long shining amongst You; and *Pray* but as honestly You as can *Preach*; we doubt not but such a Harmony in our Ecclesiastical Guides would draw down Blessings both on the *Church* and the *Kingdom*.

F I N I S.



